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THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER

Senator Church to Press C.I.A. Issue

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11—Declaring that deception of Congress has become "a habit," Senator Frank Church said today he would turn over any misleading testimony in the hearings on policy toward Chile to the Justice Department for investigation into possible perjury.

"I'm not going to let this matter slide by," Mr. Church said in a telephone interview today. "I'm very much incensed by this."

2 High Aides Testified

It was the Idaho Democrat's first public comment on the subject since it was reported Sunday that the Central Intelligence Agency had been secretly authorized to spend more than \$8-million between 1970 and 1973 in a covert attempt to make it impossible for President Salvador Allende Gossens to govern in Chile.

Mr. Church is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, which held highly publicized hearing last year into the International Telephone & Telegraph Company's attempts to urge United States intervention against the Allende regime. Mr. Allende was overthrown by a military junta in a bloody coup d'état one year ago today.

State Department officials, Charles A. Meyer, former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin-American Affairs, and Edward M. Korry, a former Ambassador to Chile, testified that the United States had maintained a policy of nonintervention toward Chile.

The two officials also refused on a number of occasions during their testimony to answer specific questions about what they said were privileged communications on United States policy toward Dr. Allende.

Mr. Church, who returned late yesterday from a lengthy campaign trip to Idaho, said he had authorized the subcommittee staff to review testimony of Government witnesses who knew of the intelligence agency's clandestine activities.

If the staff review determines that there were contradictions in their testimony, the Senator said, "in my judgment the action that would be called for would be to refer the testimony to the Justice Department for investigation of possible perjury.

That's the reason we swear in witnesses," he said.

Details Given by Colby

To aid in the staff review, Mr. Church said, he will formally request a copy of the testimony on the agency's Chilean involvement given to a House of Representatives Armed Services Intelligence Subcommittee in April by William E. Colby, Di-

Government officials have confirmed that the still-secret testimony includes a detailed discussion of the C.I.A.'s goals and strategy in alloting the \$8-million cash payments.

"Apart from the question of whether perjury was committed in a legal sense," Mr. Church added, "there's no question but what the committee was given to believe that our policy was one of nonintervention."

"This is clearly what they [the witnesses] wanted us to believe, even though the truth was a very different matter," he said.

'Vietnam Syndrome' Seen

Mr. Church, a liberal who was one of the early critics of the Vietnam war, characterized the misleading testimony as "part of the Vietnam syndrome."

"There's become a pattern of deceiving the Congress that I think began cropping up during the Vietnam war," he said. "It became a habit with testimony on all sensitive matters. If so, it's a habit the Congress is going to have to break."

Along with the study of possible perjury, Mr. Church said he would formally request the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee, headed by Senator J. W. Fulbright, now in China, to review "the propriety" of clandestine activities against constitutionally elected leaders

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Secret War on Chile ⁰⁰⁸⁴⁸

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

On the very day that President Ford extended preventive pardon to Richard Nixon, another high crime of the Nixon Administration was being disclosed in The New York Times. Public outrage because of the pardon must not be allowed to obscure this sordid story of indefensible American intervention in the internal affairs of Chile, in the years just before the violent overthrow of the Allende Government and the death of President Salvador Allende Gossens.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger appears to have been a principal force in this covert intervention, and is being charged once again with not having told the whole truth to a Senate committee. Demands are being heard for a reopening of the hearings which recommended his confirmation as Secretary.

The Times story, by Seymour Hersh, was based on a letter from Representative Michael Harrington of Massachusetts to Chairman Thomas E. Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The Harrington letter gave an account, from memory, of testimony to a House Armed Services subcommittee by William E. Colby, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Mr. Harrington said he had twice read a transcript of the Colby testimony. As he described it to Mr. Morgan, Mr. Colby said that the Nixon Administration had authorized about \$8 million to be spent covertly to make it impossible for President Allende to govern. Specifically, \$500,000 was authorized in both 1969 and 1970 to help Mr. Allende's election opponents, and \$350,000 was later authorized for bribing members of the Chilean Congress to vote against ratifying Mr. Allende's election.

Later \$5 million was authorized for clandestine "destabilization" efforts in Chile; and in 1973, \$1.5 million was provided to help anti-Allende candidates in municipal elections. The authorizing body for all this C.I.A. activity was the so-called "40 Committee" of the Nixon Administration—a committee chaired by Henry Kissinger.

But Mr. Kissinger told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during his confirmation hearings that "the C.I.A. had nothing to do with the coup, to the best of my knowledge and belief." While that may have been true in the narrowest sense, it was at best one of those torturous non-lies in which governments specialize and at worst a concealment of the true nature of U.S. policy toward the Allende Government and the scope of American activities to undermine that Government.

Similarly, Edward M. Korry, ambassador to Chile during most of the period in question, denied under oath to a Senate subcommittee that there had been American attempts to "pressure, subvert, influence a single member of the Chilean Congress." Charles A. Meyer, a former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin-American affairs, also swore that the United States had scrupulously followed a policy of non-intervention in Chile.

No wonder, then, that Senator Frank Church, to whose subcommittee this sworn testimony was offered, was reported to be outraged upon learning of the Colby testimony. He has properly raised not only the possibility of perjury charges but the question of comprehensive hearings by the full Foreign Relations Committee on the intervention in Chile.

If such hearings are held, or if Mr. Kissinger's confirmation hearings should be reopened—as they already have been once, to inquire into charges that he did not tell the whole truth about wiretaps on reporters and some of his associates—the inquiry should press much further than the candor of official testimony, important as that question is.

But as one Government official pointed out to Mr. Hersh, if covert activities against another country are authorized, Government officials—sometimes including Secretaries of State and Presidents—have to lie about them. Lies are part of the business. The real questions are whether this supposedly peace-loving and democratic nation has any legal or moral right to conduct covert operations abroad, and whether any Administration of either party has the constitutional authority to order taxpayers' money spent for clandestine warfare against the legitimate government of a sovereign country.

These questions are long overdue for full and open debate; the Colby testimony, for example, said the first intervention against Mr. Allende was ordered by Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Congress, the press, Presidential candidates—all have consistently shied away from this subject. Supposed liberals have pled the supposed need to be "hard-nosed." The real need is to face the fact that gangster schemes of bribery, violence and even assassination are being carried out, in the name of the great American people.

The C.I.A. may be only an instrument, but it seems to have its own sinister vitality. The Chilean efforts, in fact, were authorized by the lineal descendent of a body set up by the Kennedy Administration to "control" the C.I.A. Isn't it clear at last that such "control" can be achieved only by a Government with the political will to cut the C.I.A. in half, or kill it altogether?

Chile's Junta After a Year: Unrelenting Dictatorship

By JONATHAN KANDELL

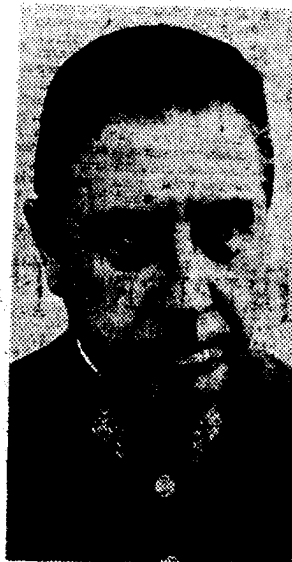
Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, Sept. 12—A year after the coup d'état that overthrew the freely elected minority Government of President Salvador Allende Gossens, a Marxist, the military junta that took power has strengthened its hold over Chile and appears determined to continue its repressive, authoritarian political style and conservative, austere economic policies.

More than 2,500 people died at the time of the coup and after it—including Dr. Allende, who, according to the junta, committed suicide rather than surrender. But the campaign to "extirpate the Marxist cancer" remains a clarion call for the chief of state, Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, and the three other members of the junta.

The uprising against the Marxist coalition Government was not the usual palace coup. The scores of thousands of Chileans who celebrated the anniversary Wednesday in the streets of Santiago and other cities were a reminder that the armed forces received ample political backing and goading from the anti-Marxist majority—particularly middle-class people who felt most threatened by the Allende Government.

But if the coup was the broad civil-military movement that



Black Star
Gen. Augusto Pinochet

civilians or prepare a quick return to elective politics.

"The recess for political parties must continue for several more years and can only be responsibly lifted when a new generation of Chileans, with healthy, civic and patriotic habits, can take over the leadership of public life," said General Pinochet in his customary speech.

The three Allende years were an almost unmitigated economic disaster of declines in industrial production, agrarian chaos and raging inflation. The Government brought about a

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

A Year After the Coup in Chile, Military Tightens Its Authoritarian Grip

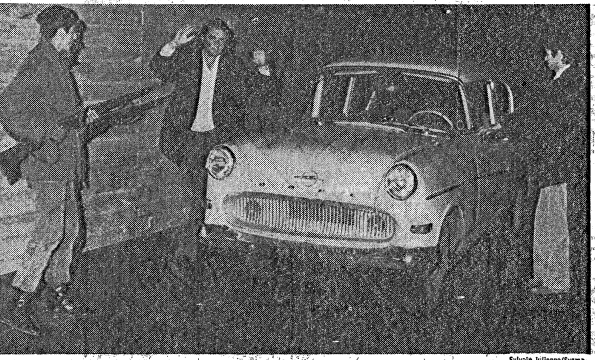
Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

political polarization that eroded study institutions, including Congress, the courts and the universities, and sowed widespread distrust of civilian politics that may linger for years among hard-line anti-Marxists.

Now the junta's harsh recovery program — with unabashed admiration for private enterprise — has spread the burden of financial sacrifice unevenly, forcing the wealthy to cut back on luxuries while the middle class struggles to keep its economic and social status and the poverty-stricken majority must fight a daily battle against malnutrition.

Under a nationalistic, a political guise, the junta has instituted a harsh dictatorship that has shackled the press, closed Congress, forbidden political party activity and repeatedly violated civil liberties.

The Government has slowly stepped up surveillance and police control that has entangled schools, shantytowns, and even the most remote administration in this elongated 2,700 miles from north to south with a population of 10 million.



Ever since the military take-over, a curfew has existed in Santiago, which now lasts from 1 A.M. to 8:30 A.M. Here, a soldier hits a car at gunpoint and orders its occupants out.

"We will continue to maintain the intelligence service because it is the only way to provide tranquility to the citizenry," General Pinochet said last week, noting that there had been no serious terrorist activity since the coup. "If a person has not done anything, he is not to be feared."

Nowadays it is possible to be arrested at home, at work, on the street, in a bus or in a hair shop. A person may be picked up because he is a relative or friend of a political prisoner or suspect. Arrests are often made on the basis of anonymous denunciations. Weeks or months may often pass before the authorities acknowledge a detention.

Personal connections are no guarantee of lenient treatment. A niece of Cardinal Silva Henríquez, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Santiago, was released last week after several months imprisonment. Before she was freed, the Cardinal complained to his bishops that the Minister of the Interior, César Benavides, had informed him that she would not be released until the pretense of a worker's protest, a priest who had fallen into official disgrace.

days after the detentions take place.

"If we take, say, Juan González as a prisoner and we let him know beforehand, within an hour whatever he was up to will have disappeared," General Pinochet explained.

The issue of torture has been haunting the junta since it took power. The numerous human rights groups that have been allowed into Chile have repeatedly reported that torture is widespread. In May the leading inter-church group, concerned with the treatment of political prisoners, leaked extensive denunciations and anonymous testimony on hundreds of tortures at some 200 locations where they were alleged to have occurred.

then placed him on a bed, tied his hands and feet with wet cloth and began to apply electric current to his ears, testicles, tongue, chest, stomach, legs and the soles of his feet. Once they had finished with the electric treatment, they forced a liquid into his mouth that seared it, and then they placed an iron bar in his anus, putting it in until it drew blood, and then finally they hit him. These interrogations are repeated several times a day.

Mrs. de la Fuente stated that she was taken from the building the following day, warned by security agents not to talk to anyone and then thrown from a moving car. She asked the court to locate her husband and order his release.

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inports in the end, about four times the previous annual level.

Copper production — called "the wages of Chile" because it provides more than 80 per cent of foreign exchange — dropped slightly after years of steady growth, and industrial output was 5 per cent lower in 1973 than in 1970, when the Allende Government came to power.

Inflation mushroomed to 700 per cent during the last year of the Marxist coalition, stoked by Government spending and subsidies that had no financial basis. Fictitious public works posts and overcrowded agrarian cooperatives provided only temporary relief from the ingrained unemployment problem.

Shortages of food and other consumer products resulted in long waiting lines. Only the black market, with access to dollars that could be traded on the black market far above official exchange rates, could beat the inflationary spiral and maintain a comfortable life-style.

Use of Torture Repudiated

General Pinochet and Gen. Gustavo Leigh Guzmán of the air force, another junta member, have repudiated the use of torture and have asserted that a number of officers and soldiers were freed the Cardinal complained to his bishops that the Minister of the Interior, César Benavides, had informed him that she would not be released until the pretense of a worker's protest, a priest who had fallen into official disgrace.

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Cardinal still in Chile

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ro Corporations—two American companies whose copper holdings were nationalized by the Allende Government—and is close to a settlement with a third, Kennecott.

Using conservative civilian advisers, the junta has liberalized regulations on foreign investment and has cut back a number of tariffs and subsidies aimed at protecting inefficient industries.

The group of small Chilean economists has bolted down to wages and prices, and income has lagged far behind prices.

"Many of the children get sleepy by midmorning," said a teacher in El Monte, a shantytown in western Santiago. "Sometimes I let them go home during recess to see if their mothers have been able to buy bread."

In Falca, an industrial center surrounded by rich farmland dotted with farms and estates, the conflict between the anti-Marxist majority and the Marxist minority is particularly personal proportions than in the larger cities.

There is a large number of small—and the injustices—real or imagined—of the Allende years are vividly remembered in this community of 70,000 where events travel rapidly by newspaper, radio and, mainly, gossip. Justice or retribution has been quicker and more visible than in Santiago, 150 miles to the north.

Nicolas Mangramarch, a leader of the small farmers' socialist and a member of the ultra-right-wing Fatherland and Liberty paramilitary group, was ecstatic when the coup took place and feels certain that his farmer association and groups like Fatherland and Liberty had a major role in bringing it about.

"This was a broad civic-military movement," said Mr. Mangramarch, whose enthusiasm has not abated. "As far as I am concerned, while I live I do not want to see the politicians back in power."

At the time of the coup, Carmen, the wife of a landless peasant, was living with 30 other families on a 400-acre agricultural cooperative named after a Communist and created under the Allende Government. Only nine were allowed to remain, the local government brought in 17 non-Marxist families and changed the name.

The economic crisis is particularly acute among the unemployed, whose ranks have been swelled by job dismissals for political reasons or economy moves in factories and public works. There are no certain figures on unemployment. Last week General Pinochet mentioned a figure of 8.2 per cent

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it's Friday the 13th

"Superstition is the religion of feeble minds."

— Edmund Burke

"Let me make the superstitions of a nation and I care not who makes its laws or its songs either."

— Mark Twain

"A man I know isn't superstitious because he believes it brings bad luck."

— Henry Youngman

"Carrying a horsehoe isn't lucky. Every horse that loses has four of them."

— Richard H. Roffman

"Crush the infamous thing!"

— Voltaire

Now at Wallacks, Hickey-Freeman plaid suits for Fall. Christian Dior leisure suit of luxurious cotton twill. Our casual Panda sandstone demi-boot. In the Ladies Shop, 5-piece Butte Knit wardrobe in blue and cream. And if you're superstitious, we'll date your purchase as tomorrow—or yesterday.